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HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
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VOLUME III



NUMBER I

JANUARY · 1917

The Woman's Hour has Struck



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OYEZ! OYEZ!
—————

Here is ye Prize-Winning
Poster in ye Nation-wide
Contest directed by ye
National American Wo-
man Suffrage Association.
Ye bell-ringer summons ye
American men to ye polls to
Vote for Woman Suffrage.

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Ye Hour Has Struck!
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The Prize Winner
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JAN 30 1917

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HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

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A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

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Headquarters:

EDITORIAL REVELATIONS

Why did she do it and What will she do next are the two questions oftenest on men's lips, whenever and wherever their attention turns toward woman. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the woman voter's pre- and election performances held men's engrossed attention, and, in the result, set them to muttering equivocally about the "eternal feminine" and "woman's manifold mystery."

Woman herself never quite knows what men are talking about when they talk like that. Woman knows herself as a rather simple creature who makes the direst possible connection between what she wants and the way to get it. But even woman herself seems to have been a little jolted by her miscalculations as to feminine reactions in the woman voter.

There was that notion of the solidarity of womanhood, for instance. In theory it rings out promisingly, with a sort of clarion call. And there is no question that in practice it works—where women don't vote. Where women don't vote there is a little, ragged sore feeling of sex antagonism at men for having pre-empted the right of self-government and for being inclined to hang on to it like a big dog with a nice bone. Where women don't vote you hear women make cleanly-cut distinctions between women's interests and men's interests. Where women don't vote it is possible to find women banded together in private and public work with a sense of detachment from men, and some talk of "ours" and "theirs." Where women don't vote the "solidarity of womanhood" has meaning and application.

Where women do vote women won't band together at all without the men; there isn't any sex antagonism; there isn't any sore feeling; there is no talk at all of "theirs," all the talk is of "ours"; and for the life of you, you can't get either men or women to see one another with any sense of interests detached along sex lines. They stand or they fall together, where women vote.

That was one of the revelations of the last election for the eastern woman. By right of it, she understands better to-day than she did last year that there is something incongruous to the western woman in being asked to line up on the ground of sex solidarity to ask for the removal of an invidious political distinction that has always been made on that very self-same ground. The western woman says men have taken that invidiousness from her scheme of life, and that she is not going to be the one to put it back. It may be disconcerting, politically, but humanly speaking it scores for equal suffrage, and should forever still anti-suffrage wailings and warnings about the ballot being the breeder of sex antagonism. The evidence is all in. Equal suffrage works exactly the other way.

Another election revelation that the eastern woman is taking in slowly is the fact that the West's dubiety about the democracy of the East is reflected in the western woman's valuation of her eastern sister as capitalistic. Western women, the women who think, are democratic, they are interested in industrial and civic and social betterment. They work for it and they vote for it. They need reassurance as to the eastern woman's disposition to socialize legislation. They do not yet know her record. It will bear investigation. It can come up to the mark with women in the front rank of efforts to secure eight-hour days and minimum wage laws. When the West has investigated, there will be another revelation with the eastern woman in the attitude of revealer.

One revelation that may be noted as having already passed on to the western woman from the East is the intensity of interest and purpose that fires and sustains the eastern woman in her struggle for enfranchisement. The West has never known anything like it, and never will except through sympathetic on-looking. The West is too open-minded, too plastic, and too broad of vision ever to have imposed upon her women the fearful time-consuming, energy-devouring struggle that is to-day at fever heat in the tradition-encrusted East. Western men gave women the vote; eastern men are making women fight for it.

The election did a great deal in bringing forward eastern women and eastern conditions for western inspection, and vice versa. There is more promise in this than in similar revelations where men only are concerned, because women fix their eyes more steadfastly on the human consideration and relation than men do. The need of uniform political recognition for women, without regard to sectional boundaries, is too impressively human, whether viewed from the West looking East, or the East looking West, to allow the final revelation to be anything short of men and women standing together, East and West, sex distinctions and sectional distinctions alike obliterated by a new sense of a new nationalism.

SUFFRAGE UP TO THE MINUTE



MRS. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON

The nation-wide suffrage poster contest is over, with Mr. Edward A. Poucher, a well-known poster artist of New York, the victor. His blue-ribbon winner is displayed on the front cover of this issue.

Thanks to the initiative of Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, Chairman of the Committee on Art Publicity, the contest was in fact, as well as in intention, nationwide. No less than seven States are represented in the list of ten prizewinners. Brooklyn carried off the second prize, and San Francisco the third. New England, the Middle West, the South and the Middle Atlantic States all contributed the artistic talent that ranked highest in the contest.

It will be recalled that under the terms of the contest designs were to be judged for popular appeal, maximum of effect and minimum of cost to reproduce, success in telling the story in a few broad lines, and pleasing color scheme. The competition was wide open and no limitation was placed upon the number of sketches submitted by any one artist. Among the slogans suggested were "The Woman's Hour Has Struck, Suffrage First, Suffrage is Coming, All Political Parties Endorse Suffrage, Ballots for Both, and Why Wait Till We Win?"

Mr. Poucher, who won first place, took as his theme The Woman's Hour Has Struck, the battle call issued by Mrs. Catt at the Atlantic City convention. "Suffrage Up to the Minute" the Poucher poster might be called. Not only does it sound the *dernier cri* in suffrage slogans, but its whole suggestion is that of ultra-modernism, combined with conservatism. The modish young suffragist at the bell-rope comprehends the story in one stroke of suggestion. The color scheme is yellow, white and blue. It is interesting to note that this poster was the choice of the suffragists as well as the choice of the art jury. Good suffrage considerations are not always, alas, good from the viewpoint of art, and art juries sometimes pick out something for its "decorative quality," which from the viewpoint of the suffragist is but a dire welter of color. In the case of Mr. Poucher's offering there was no dissenting voice. The judges who passed on the designs were Edwin H. Blashfield, Robert Ament, and Arthur B. Sullivan, the only absent member of the jury being Carroll Beckwith, who is in California.

Mr. Poucher will receive \$250.00 as a reward for his work, while the remainder of the \$500.00 offered to the contestants will be distributed among the artists winning second and third prizes and those receiving honorable mention. Of these, the second and third prize winners are: Armand Moreira, of Brooklyn,

N. Y., for the poster entitled "All Political Parties Endorse It." He will receive \$100.00. Robert Edmund Lee, of San Francisco, Calif., also chose "The Woman's Hour Has Struck" as his theme. Mr. Lee's honorarium is \$50.00.

The two artists given honorable mention and \$25.00 apiece are: Helen Tarquand, of New York City, and Frank Clark, of Jersey City, N. J. Five contestants have been selected as worthy of honorable mention and prizes of \$10.00 each. These are, Mary F. Overback, of Cambridge City, Indiana, Harold Kolb, of Somerville, Mass., Mary Aiken, of North Sutton, New Hampshire, Rosamund D. Smith, of Glyndon, Maryland, and Armand Moreira, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

It is the intention of the Art Committee to exhibit the posters in many states. About twenty-five were selected by the jury as eligible to this "Traveling Exhibit." Mrs. Seton took them to Washington in January for exhibition there at the Junior League Rally and other special events on the calendar at the National Suffrage Club, 1626 Rhode Island Ave. Little Rock, Ark., will be the next city visited by the exhibit.

The National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company will reproduce the Poucher poster at once and issue it in a size 28 x 42 to sell at twenty cents each; \$2.00 per dozen.

* * *

VICTORY NUMBER ONE!

The campaign of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to secure presidential and municipal suffrage for the women of the country through the state legislatures has won its first victory. The North Dakota Woman Suffrage Association, affiliated with the National Suffrage Association, wired Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the latter body, as follows:

"Please accept, with North Dakota's compliments, five more electoral suffrage votes. The governor will sign bill without fail. The bill which is passed is practically the same as the Illinois bill. We are straining every resource toward getting full suffrage in the new constitution."

The Illinois law, which has now become the model for the nation-wide campaign, extended the suffrage to the women of that state for all measures and elections which are not specially named in the constitution as necessarily decided by male electors. It gives women the right to vote on constitutional amendments, certain county officers, and for all municipal officers, as well as presidential electors. The bill must of necessity be adapted to the constitution of each state and will vary in small particulars. It will not give women the right to vote for congressmen, senators, legislators nor state officials. The importance of the measure was demonstrated in the first Chicago city election after the passage of the bill by the legislature of that state, when a quarter of a million women voted for all the city officers, including the mayor. Their activity, organization and interest in that election arrested the attention of the entire world.

It is predicted that many other states will follow the example of North Dakota, whose legislature has only been in session three weeks.

“TWO ROADS TO SUFFRAGE”

Now that the principle of woman suffrage has been all but universally conceded, the relative value of the different ways of getting woman suffrage is engaging more and more of the attention of statesmen as well as of all working suffragists.

Among the arguments recently adduced to show that suffrage by federal amendment is the easiest and quickest of all methods, the summary by Representative John M. Nelson, of Wisconsin, stands out with special clarity. Mr. Nelson has presented in the House a minority report from the Judiciary Committee, which for the first time in American history deals with the methods of obtaining equal suffrage. He calls the “national way,” direct, well-known and effective. He calls the “state way” roundabout, seldom used and interminable.

According to the national way, an amendment must be passed in the United States Senate and House of Representatives by a two-thirds vote of the members voting, a quorum being present, and the amendment must be ratified by a majority in three-fourths of the state legislatures.

According to the state way, a state constitutional amendment must usually be passed by a two-thirds vote of the state legislatures, sometimes twice over; and must then be submitted to a referendum of the male voters of the states. This process must be repeated from state to state until the last one has acted favorably.

BARBED WIRE BARRIERS

The three main reasons cited by Representative Nelson as evidence against the “state way” are:

1. A state constitutional amendment, if rejected by the voters, must be reintroduced into the state legislature and the work begun all over again from the very beginning.

2. Work for state amendments must be scattered over the population and territory of thirty-seven states.

3. The difficulty of amending many state constitutions results in a virtual denial of suffrage. Not even suffragists themselves are fully aware of the thorniness of the road to amending state constitutions. While in some states it is an entirely feasible proposition, in others it is well-nigh impossible. Mr. Nelson cites no less than ten separate and nearly insuperable “barbed wire constitutional entanglements,” some of which obtain in all the unenfranchised states. For instance:

(a) In New Mexico, during the first twenty-five years after adoption of the recent constitution, an amendment must be proposed by vote of three-fourths of the members elected to each house, and ratified by three-fourths of the electors voting in the whole state, and at least two-thirds of those voting in each county. After the expiration of twenty-five years, for further amendments, only two-thirds of the elected members and two-thirds of the electors will be required.

(b) In New Hampshire an amendment can be submitted only by a constitutional convention, and

requires for ratification two-thirds of the votes of electors voting. The convention can be called not oftener than once in seven years, and the process of calling it is excessively difficult.

(c) Indiana requires, for the approval of an amendment, a majority of the votes of all the qualified electors of the state.

(d) Seven states fix a term of years after an amendment has failed of adoption before it can be resubmitted: Illinois, four years; Kentucky, five years; New Jersey, five years; Pennsylvania, five years; Tennessee, six years; New Hampshire, seven years; Vermont, ten years.

(e) Four states restrict the number of amendments to be submitted at an election; Illinois to one, Kentucky to two, Arkansas to three, while Indiana declares that while an amendment agreed upon by one legislature awaits action of the next, or of the electors, no additional amendment may be proposed.

(f) The above difficulties are not offset by the convention methods of amendment, for twelve states are without any provision for constitutional conventions. These states are: Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Vermont. In only two of these twelve states, Arkansas and North Dakota, can amendments be submitted by petition. Maryland permits a convention only every twenty years, submitting the question of its convening at that time to the electors. Eighteen states require that a majority of votes cast for a convention shall be a majority of the total votes cast at the election at which candidates are also voted for, those not voting on this proposition being counted as against it. In Georgia and Maine a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature is required to call a convention.

(g) Eleven states require, for the approval of an amendment, a majority of all the votes cast at an election, not a simple majority of the votes cast for or against the particular amendment. These are: Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas.

Since amendments arouse less popular interest than candidates, amendments usually fail in these states. Every one who votes for a candidate, but not for or against a pending amendment is, in fact, counted against it.

(h) In thirteen states two consecutive legislatures must first vote favorably on the amendment. A two-thirds vote of both houses is required in several instances. In most states the legislatures meet biennially, and in Alabama the sessions are quadrennial.

(i) In Mississippi and South Carolina final approval of an amendment is left with the legislature again, even after the electors have approved it.

(j) In one state (Delaware), only can suffrage be granted to women without first being submitted to the voters.

THE DIRECT WAY

Against this array of obstacles, Congressman Nelson names, as reasons for supporting the federal amendment:

1. Economy of work. It will save 12 state campaigns. If the amendment is ratified by three-fourths of the states, it becomes a law for the whole nation.

2. A federal amendment once passed by Congress is passed forever, and is thereafter before the state legislatures for their consideration. If a state legislature rejects the federal amendment, it can reconsider its action. If it ratifies the amendment, the ratification is final.

3. Economy of money. National work saves the expenditure of great sums of money in reaching the individual voters scattered over vast areas. Work for the federal amendment is centered on comparatively few members of Congress and on state legislatures—all responsible officials, representing all the people, gathered together at national and state capitols. In the Congress of the United States, in both branches, are the representatives of millions of enfranchised women. One-fourth of the members of the Senate, one-sixth of the House, and one-fifth of the electoral votes come from states where women vote in national elections.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Certain stock objections are summarily dealt with in Congressman Nelson's report. For instance, that matter of the elective franchise being a divine right of states, so sedulously insisted upon only when the question is of suffrage by so consecrated a federalist as Senator Root, is disposed of on the ground that states do not exercise any such right. Not only the Fourteenth but the Seventeenth Amendment put limits upon the rights of states in regard to this.

It is also pointed out that suffrage by federal amendment cannot infringe upon state rights more than national prohibition would. Yet, advocates of the latter are found among the most zealous of states' righters.

The objection that three-fourths of the states should not coerce one-fourth is refuted as an attack upon the Constitution itself and a denial of the majority rule.

Another objection that it will not be fair for a small state like Nevada to coerce a great state like New York is answered by the fact that in the House the strength of the two states is proportioned to their population.

Another similar objection that if all the small states approved the amendment and all the large ones opposed it a minority of votes might control is dismissed by the minority members of the Judiciary Committee as "purely fanciful."

"A study of the discussions in the constitutional convention," says the report, "and the views of students of the Constitution itself, make it clear that the control, in the first instance, of the elective franchise was left to individual states, not from principle, but purely from expediency. As a matter of principle, Cooley points out in his Constitutional Limitations, it would have been better to have made the qualifications of the electorate uniform throughout the land, but the contrary was finally determined upon because of the divergent

requirements of the different states. Some of them required property, others tax, and still others educational qualifications, while many enjoyed universal manhood suffrage. Therefore it was as a practical solution of a difficult problem that a compromise was agreed upon and this question of the franchise was left with the states purely as a matter of expediency.

"The framers of our Constitution never dreamed, it may be certain, that a hundred years after they were dead, persons opposed to equal suffrage would lament with bitter tears over the proposed desecration by American womanhood of that ancient sepulchre—political expediency—where had been laid to rest a compromise agreement on the elective franchise.

"How deeply touching is the tender regard of the opponents of the federal amendment for the principle of self-government. Indeed, learned lawyers, voicing no doubt the views of a Southern aristocracy and of a Northern plutocracy, predict a most dreadful catastrophe. They see nothing but disturbance coming out of any extension of the rights and privileges of the masses of the American people, and especially dangerous to their vested interests and social privilege would be the higher industrial political and ethical standards of an enlarged democracy. They are indeed the champions of self-government, with powerful emphasis on the 'self.'"

* * *

A RASCAL BROUGHT TO BOOK

On Wednesday evening, January 17th, the High Cost of Living was arraigned before a high Court of Chancery composed of representatives from its chief sufferers—women. The court-room was the Boys' High School in Brooklyn. The counsel for the plaintiffs was composed of three specialists: Commissioner John W. Dillon, who told why food prices are taking an aeroplane ascension; Mrs. Julian Heath, of the Housewives' League, who talked on what methods are being used by housewives, organized to fight, to bring down the enemy zeppelin which is carrying off their dinners. And finally Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich told what suffragists have to say about a situation demanding legislation when they have no vote.

There was no counsel for the defense. The prisoner was deserted even by his friends, the Cold Storage People. The Court was presided over by a real judge—Judge John S. Hilan. The sentence was immediate reduction, and there was some disposition to vest the powers of execution in women. This, however, was coldly received by the women present, on the grounds that the executioner's weapon, the ballot, was denied them. Responsibility for the execution of the sentence was by implication left on men's shoulders, until women are equipped with the ballot.

Just to show what suffragists are doing as snipers and sharpshooters at the high-flying food prices, however, the Brooklyn Suffrage Party had a lot of suffrage recipes on hand at Brooklyn Suffrage headquarters, 342 Livingston Street. These had been tried out by officers and were guaranteed as giving a maximum food value for the minimum of money.



MISS KATE GORDON

BIG DRIVE FOR PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

A bill for presidential suffrage will be introduced in practically every state Legislature in session this winter. The Illinois act, which grants the franchise to women in presidential and municipal elections, will be used as the model measure. In some states local conditions or the peculiarities of the state constitution may require that the model act be slightly amended. In those commonwealths where referenda on suffrage are imminent, the presidential suffrage bill will give way to the more immediate issue.

Aside from the dominant influence exerted by women in the Western states during the November election, the exercise of suffrage by women in Illinois was one of the most conspicuous features of the last election. The hundreds of thousands of votes cast by women in Illinois invalidated suggestions that women are not personally interested in the ballot. The complete exercise of their prerogative in Illinois has, in the opinion of suffragists, at once proved the vitality of equal suffrage and made apparent the anomaly of permitting suffrage to women in some states and denying it in others.

State Legislatures are empowered by the Federal Constitution to prescribe the qualifications of voters in presidential elections. The presidential suffrage bills in each state will be an acid test of the good faith of suffrage planks in platforms adopted by state conventions. Presidential suffrage bills have their legal status well defined. Six attacks upon the validity of all or parts of the Illinois act resulted in as many court decisions which accurately define the limitations of the act and validate the right granted by it.

Of special interest is the activity among Southern women along this line. It is the plan of such women leaders as Miss Kate Gordon, of La., Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Tenn., Mrs. Jacobs, of Alabama, and Mrs. Smith, of Kentucky, that the South shall not be behind in this race to enfranchise women. Bills for presidential suffrage, modelled after the Illinois equal suffrage statute, will be introduced in the Legislatures of twelve Southern states. The special argument upon which the Southern women will base their plea is that the grant of suffrage to women in the South will clinch the political supremacy of the white race.

Some eye-opening figures sustain this contention. For instance:

In four Southern states—Texas, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky—the number of white women exceeds the whole colored population. In five states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and Louisiana—woman suffrage would tremendously increase the preponderance of white votes. In Mississippi and South Carolina, where the colored population exceeds the white, equal suffrage would double the intelligent electorate.

Not only would woman suffrage give white control in these states a more permanent footing now, but, it is pointed out by Southern women that white supremacy will grow with the years because, contrary to popular impression, the increase of white population is more rapid than the increase of colored population. The official estimates of population for 1916, published by the Bureau of the Census, show that the white population in twelve Southern states has increased 10.8 per cent. in the last seven years, while the negro population has increased only 5.6 per cent.

"It can be confidently relied upon that the more intelligent people will vote and that the less intelligent will not," says Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma. "The assertion that the weak and vicious women will vote while the intelligent women will not is utterly fallacious.



MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY



MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS



MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH

That was proved beyond doubt in the last election. Equal suffrage in the South will strengthen white supremacy, because the white women of the South are intelligent and educated and can be depended upon properly to exercise the right to vote if it is given to them. The South has been the backbone of Democracy. It should not forget that the National Democracy owes its last victory to the votes of the intelligent women of the West. That fact should count in the South."

Among the Southern women who will be active in urging the passage of the several presidential suffrage bills are: Mrs. John G. South, of Frankfort, Ky.; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Kentucky; Mrs. Lindsey S. Arrington, of Augusta, Ga.; Miss Mary Henderson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. C. M. Platt, Asheville, N. C.; Mrs. Frances Smith Whiteside, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Pauline Orr, Columbus, Miss.; Mrs. D. J. Cunningham, Galveston, Texas.; Mrs. B. B. Valentine, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, of Texas; Miss Kate Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, of Alabama; Mrs. John H. Lewis, Lynchburg, Va.; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Little Rock, Ark.; Mrs. O. F. Ellington, Little Rock, Ark.; Miss Eleanor Furman, of South Carolina; Mrs. C. H. Collier, Selma, Ala.; Mrs. Julian B. Parke, Selma, Ala.; Mrs. A. B. Singletary, Baton Rouge, La.; Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch and Mrs. M. T. Coleman, of South Carolina.

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN

Bills for equal suffrage which will be introduced this winter in the Legislature of each non-suffrage state, would grant women the right to vote in municipal as well as presidential elections. While the conspicuous part played by women in the last presidential election has tended to center interest on the effort to extend presidential suffrage to other states, the proposal to grant them municipal suffrage is a matter of first-rate importance, in the estimation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The delay in this country in granting women the right to vote in municipal elections in all states is perhaps a greater reflection upon the real democracy of American institutions than the delay in granting equal suffrage in other elections. Women possess, and have had for a number of years, the right to vote in municipal elections in Great Britain, in the British colonies, including some in Asia, in South Africa, in all the Scandinavian countries and in Honduras, and Venezuela. Women were sitting in the City Councils of Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, Copenhagen, Christiania and Stockholm before American women had achieved any degree of suffrage. Finland gained equal suffrage at one stroke, and when Russia later diminished the power of the Finnish Parliament no greater diminution of power was imposed upon the women than upon the men. In some of the British colonies where woman suffrage

is restricted by a property qualification the same qualification had previously been imposed upon men.

With women taking part in city government in Asia, Africa, Europe and Australia, it is about time for the United States to catch up with the procession. It is significant of a wrong viewpoint that the women of this republic should be refused the right of suffrage which has been granted women in countries where fewer professions of liberty are made.

Before the tremendous vote cast in the last election in Illinois proved beyond doubt the eagerness of women to exercise their right of suffrage, there were unquestioned indications of their desire to vote. One of the Chicago newspapers, prior to the first registration day when women registered, offered to inform by telephone each woman who wished to know at what polling place she should register. The inquiries swamped the paper. It was estimated that 150,000 questions were answered in three days. The registration approximated 235,000. Women unfamiliar with election machinery proved their ability to inform themselves about it in a very short time.

SILENCE GAINED CONSENT

Through the activities of some of the anti-suffragists, suffragists were denied the privilege of speaking at a meeting of the Farmer's Institute held at the capitol in Nashville, Tenn. Realizing the importance of making an impression on the two thousand members who were in attendance, the Nashville suffragists arranged themselves in a long line at the foot of the stairway in the corridors of the capitol. Holding huge printed placards displaying suffrage maps, voiceless speeches and extracts from different political platforms, they created a sensation. The farmers, as they left the meeting, stopped to read, to applaud, to shake hands with the women, and to promise them support.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Women in the government service at Washington, D. C., have sent a letter to every member of Congress, protesting the discrimination against women practiced by the government in the selection of employees under civil service rules. Out of a total of 212 appointments made recently in the War Department, only four were women. Members of Congress from suffrage states are expected to display interest in a situation that involves the economic interests of a part of their constituency.

SOUTHERN SENATORS

Among the fifty-four Senators who voted to give the women of the District of Columbia the right to vote with the men, at a special referendum for the District, were four distinguished Southerners, Senators Tillman of South Carolina, Vardaman and Williams of Mississippi, and Kirby of Arkansas.

POTENT AND PRACTICAL
vs.
IMPOTENT AND IMAGINARY

Mr. C. Herbert Moore, former Mayor of Spokane, explains his endorsement of woman suffrage on the ground of the material help the women were in his administration, and their active interest in the welfare of any community in which they live. When he went into office dissatisfaction was rife among the people with the way municipal affairs had been handled, and there was a general demand for improved conditions. Spokane was just beginning to be interested in the city beautiful idea, which first took form through church societies, and then spread toward other organizations. The Mayor was in sympathy with the work, and lent the aid of his office to furthering a thorough cleaning up of all unsightly districts. Over 4,400 rubbish heaps were burned, and over 4,000 loads of debris removed. The good offices of the school children were enlisted, with the consequence that 8,000 flower-beds were planted, 4,000 trees and 2,000 shrubs and vines. All of this was accomplished in the short space of two years with the active cooperation of the Mayor, who gives the women much credit for helping to make Spokane one of the most beautiful cities of the country. Besides beautifying the city, the women lent active aid in the solution of social and moral questions affecting the community.

Mr. Moore not only favors the principle of woman suffrage. He favors, as well, the expedient of the Federal amendment.

To a representative of the National American Woman Suffrage Association he said recently:

"I am of the opinion that the granting of the right of suffrage to the women makes a decided improvement in the electorate of a community. The results in this state have amply justified such an opinion. The improvement and betterment of civic morality, since the advent of the women in politics, is very marked. The criminal and misdemeanor statistics show a considerable decrease, the demands upon the eleemosynary institutions are less, and the improvement in the public school service is unquestioned. In questions governing the public health, hygiene, schools, libraries, civic morality, and city beautifying, I think the average woman's judgment to be better than the average man's, while in the questions of justice, the conduct of public business, police and fire protection their judgment is as good as the men's. These questions cover practically all that are of public interest, and if I am correct, in my opinion, why then should not women be given a national suffrage? The reasons in favor are potent and practical, those against are impotent and imaginary."

**PROGRESS OF THE
 SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT**

KNOWN IN THE

**64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
 SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.**

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
 1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
 1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
 1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
 1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
 1890, Without recommendation.
 1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
 1896, Without recommendation.
 1913, Favorable majority.
 1914, Favorable majority.
 1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
 March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
 1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
 1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
 1890, Favorable majority.
 1894, Adverse majority.
 1914, Without recommendation.
 1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas. Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE:

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1. Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7, on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments. On December 14, 1916, the Judiciary Committee reported the amendment without recommendation.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:
 On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE:
 Awaiting place on the calendar.

"THE GRANDE TOUR"

Perhaps it is still more apropos to call it the "Rio Grande Tour". It has just been completed by Mrs. J. B. Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, and Miss Lavinia Engle, its field secretary. During its progress they attended conventions, held suffrage meetings, and carried the gospel of equal rights into public halls and private homes. The most distinctive work they accomplished was to speak on suffrage in the Y. M. C. A. halls of the various militia encampments, thus getting a chance at the voters who were protecting the United States borders. Appealing to the men while they were in a most receptive state of mind, due to the fact that entertainments under a military regime are more rare and therefore more appreciated than at home, the two suffragists made a strong impression on their hearers. In some places, as at Llano Grande, Mrs. Cunningham added variety to her program by singing some suffrage songs.

The two organizers report the formation of suffrage clubs in many places and the positive assurance of help and organization in all of the other towns and villages visited. Being obliged to return to work at the suffrage headquarters at Galveston, Mrs. Cunningham left Miss Engle to continue the campaign in the same energetic way that it was begun.

In commenting on the people whom some critics have characterized as "dwellers in the wilds", the

president of the Texas Association states that she met many charming and cultivated individuals, and in fact can name a woman's club that has a remarkable array of college-bred members. Such people as she describes, living in a veritable garden-spot, where the climate is ideal and the vegetation luxuriant and beautiful with the colors of rare tropical plants, make ready converts to the woman suffrage cause. "For it is the people who live in quiet places who have the most time to think, and those who really think soon discard prejudice and blind allegiance to custom."

It is in Texas, too, that women are sending out from San Antonio a "missionary car" every Saturday to some town within a radius of fifty miles. The project is under the direction of the

San Antonio Equal Franchise Society. The Missionary goes into each community twice, two weeks intervening between visits. The first trip is for the purposes of advertisement, to arrange for meetings to be held on the second trip, and to get in touch with the leading men and women of the towns and with the newspapers. As a result of these manoeuvres there have been well-attended street and indoor meetings, the formation of suffrage clubs, the enrollment of many sympathizers, the development of new workers, and the arousing of the country newspapers to an interest in the suffrage cause.



"THE SUFFRAGE MISSIONARY." (AT WHEEL MISS FLORENCE MCCLUNG; RIGHT, MRS. R. L. SANFORD. BACK SEAT, LEFT TO RIGHT, MRS. NELLIE MCCLUNG, MRS. D. A. LEARY AND MRS. JAS. M. YOUNG.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Compiled by CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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* * *

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DATA DEPARTMENT.—MARY SUMNER BOYD.

THE WOMAN EDUCATOR AND THE VOTE

Since education ceased to be the peculiar possession of the cleric the training of children has been, up to adolescence at least, largely in the hands of women. A few generations ago teaching was the only "genteel" paid occupation for women. It paid little besides a home, and the standard required of the teacher was as low as the standard of pay. This and the fact that the male teacher was expected to be a bully made any but the upper grades of teaching undesirable by men, and it is recognized to-day that male teachers are on the average of lower grade than female. Most of them are either men who have not enough initiative to succeed in other occupations, or they are young men who are working their way to other occupations.

This undesirable profession for men has been the desirable profession for women, up to the last generation the one avenue of self-expression open to those of their sex who had most initiative. Against the impermanence of male teachers, this is the occupation in which women are most permanent, the one least apt to be depleted by marriage.

Women have thus taken possession of a field vacated by men. The 1910 census shows almost four times as many women as men teachers in the United States; the school figures for 1913 show more than four times as many girls as boys actually training in the Normal Schools.

If it is right and natural to expect those who bring children up to form their minds, then the invasion of education by women is right and natural, and women should have a large part of the control of education, and as professionals should be paid at least the same wages as men.

Yet throughout the educational system of the United States these women educators, who average high among their sex, have been discriminated against in honors and emoluments in favor of men educators, who average low among professionals of their sex.

The reason has been two-fold. Men are favored, first because of the theory—less true in this profession of mature women than in most women's occupations—that men alone "have some one dependent upon them"; and second, because men are voters.

This last is not a partisan statement made at random. Some states actually exclude non-voters by law from certain executive and supervisory school offices which carry prestige and, if paid positions, high salaries. Thus Mississippi, North Dakota, New Jersey and Nebraska exclude them from the highest state executive school offices; Louisiana from county school boards, Michigan and Oklahoma from local school boards and executive positions. In those male suffrage states where the law does not require voters, the voter nevertheless by a natural psychology has a better chance than the non-voter in both elective and appointive positions.

If this is so we should expect to find the woman educators of the equal suffrage states better off as to "honors and emoluments" than those of the non-suffrage states; and this is what we do find.

Though some western male suffrage states—the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Minnesota—give women a fairly high standing in their public education systems, they are given a much higher standing in the systems of most equal suffrage states. In not a few they actually dominate education.

On the side of emoluments, the question is bound up with that of equal pay and with even-handed justice regardless of sex in the allotment of higher paid positions, especially executive and supervisory positions. Average pay of the two sexes tells nothing, as the range of positions filled by women is so much greater.

No male suffrage state has an equal pay statute among its school laws. Of the twelve equal suffrage states, five, Nevada, California, Illinois, Oregon and Utah have equal pay statutes. In Arizona, Kansas and Montana the particular class of position carries its own salary regardless of sex, and appointments are made on the basis of experience and record.*

The four states which remain have no equal pay law. Colorado, has, in common with a dozen male suffrage states a minimum wage law for teachers. But there is little need for special legislation to protect women on this point, for these are four of the states in which women are the most completely in control of the educational system. Where the women hold, or have equal share in, the higher executive and supervisory educational positions the tendency is to equality throughout the system.

In all four of these states the head of the educational department is a woman and, except in Wyoming, has been a woman ever since the granting of woman suffrage. Montana has been added to this group in 1917. In these states the following women have served:

COLORADO:	
1892-1895	Mrs. A. J. Peavy.
1895-1898	Miss Grace E. Patton.
1898-1905	Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell.
1905-1909	Miss Katherine L. Craig.
1909-1910	Mrs. Katherine M. Cook.
1910-1912	Miss Helen Marsh Wixson.
1912	Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford.
IDAHO:	
1897-1904	Miss Permeal French.
1904-1905	Miss May L. Scott.
1905-1910	Miss S. Belle Chamberlain.
1910-1915	Miss Grace N. Shepherd.
1915-1917	Miss Bernice McCoy.
1917	Miss Ethel E. Redfield
WASHINGTON:	
1912	Mrs. Josephine Preston.
WYOMING:	
1895-1898	Miss Estelle Reel.
1911-1914	Miss Rose A. Bird (1913-1914, Mrs. Rose A. Bird-Maley).
1914	Miss Edith K. O. Clark.
MONTANA:	
1917	Miss May Trumper

Only one male suffrage state, North Dakota, has ever elected a woman in this capacity, and here the male voters elected but two women, who served between them only four years (1891-1895).

The voting mothers in the four suffrage states

* Some male suffrage states also attempt to follow this rule.

have evidently had something to do with the continuance of women as chief executive educational officers.

Washington—which incidentally stands first in the United States in the excellence of its public education system *—has besides a woman Commissioner of Education two out of its other five chief state educational executives women, and in Colorado Mrs. Bradford's first deputy is a woman.

In Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho women hold the great majority of the county superintendencies.

Since with the exception of California and Illinois the whole group of equal suffrage states are agricultural, this position of County Superintendent is important. It is a significant fact that one-half the county superintendents in the United States are women and that two-thirds of these women superintendents are to be found in equal suffrage states. The following are the states in which any considerable number of women serve in these positions:

Montana.....	All women (41).
Wyoming.....	19 women, 2 men.
Idaho.....	30 " 7 "
Colorado.....	49 " 16 "
Iowa.....	55 " 44 "
South Dakota.....	37 " 25 "
Nebraska.....	49 " 41 "
Kansas.....	54 " 50 "
Arizona.....	7 " 7 "
Washington.....	16 " 23 "
California.....	25 " 33 "
North Dakota.....	17 " 35 "
Minnesota.....	29 " 56 "

Eight out of the above 13 are equal suffrage states and all of them stand high in the list for the number of their women superintendents. Twelve other states, 3 of them equal suffrage, † have some women county superintendents—in most cases a mere handful to a host of men.

The only equal suffrage states whose cities are large are Illinois and California. These have a greater proportion of women city superintendents and district superintendents than other states with large urban populations. Up to last year the women voters fought corrupt politics successfully to keep Ella Flagg Young at the head of the Chicago Public Schools, the biggest educational position in any city in the Union except New York.

* See Russell Sage Foundation Study of Public School Systems.
† Utah alone of equal suffrage states has no women county superintendents.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE YEAR BOOK, 1917

By MARTHA G. STAPLER

Published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company. Paper, postpaid, \$1.05

A comprehensive reference book which gives a calendar of events of the preceding year with valuable tables of statistics. The first attempt to issue *under one cover* suffrage events, history, arguments, charts and statistical information. It is planned to make this an annual publication.

Chicago, with a third the total number of such positions, has five women in District Superintendencies as against two * in New York.

On the side of unpaid honors and control of the educational system the women of the equal suffrage states have not kept up with those in paid positions, but they are in advance of the women of male suffrage states. In a few male suffrage states non-voters are not allowed to serve on state or local boards. In others women are in theory eligible, but we are all too familiar with local struggles to get even one woman on a board. In most cases where they do serve it is merely a handful "allowed to listen" to a board of men. In New York we have six women on a board of forty-six; in Boston, one in five, and probably Boston's 20% of women is the largest proportion in the East.

In suffrage states men are still predominant, partly because a board position is mainly a business position and local bankers and business men are eager to compete for offices which involve the handling of money. But there is a leaven of women on most educational boards of the equal suffrage states and they are there not simply as listeners but in sufficient numbers to make their influence real. In some of these states the state educational executives see to it that at least one woman serves on each local board.

In Colorado, where the first woman board member was appointed in the year woman suffrage was obtained, the state board has its two ex-officio women members, and each local board has one or two women in its membership. The state boards of Washington, Idaho and Wyoming have their women ex-officio members and all of these states have women on local boards. In Washington and Wyoming some rural boards are made up entirely of women.

California has two out of the five state board members women and one or more women on most local boards. The State University and the State Agricultural College of Utah have each a woman on their boards. Arizona has a woman member on its State Board of Examiners, and this and all the rest of the suffrage states report women as a matter of course serving, though in minority, on local boards. Some Kansas boards are 50% women and in Illinois some cities have as many as 3 women on a total board of 7.

* One of these is Miss Grace Strachan, leader of the local Equal Pay movement.

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FRANCE'S THREE SUFFRAGE BILLS

Of the three proposals for woman suffrage at various stages of development before the French people, two show an ingenuous masculine disposition not to recognize women directly if there is a man to recognize in her stead. One is Maurice Barrès's bill to enfranchise the wives and mothers of soldiers who have perished in battle. It is in the nature of a poetic tribute, by proxy, to dead men rather than a direct application to living women of the democratic principle of one person, one vote. It is talked about some, but it is not expected to bear much fruit.

The other is the Dugage bill. It would allow the husband and father to vote for the wife and child, but would enfranchise unmarried women. This is in line with the well-defined tendency, so greatly resented by married women, to make matrimony for women a less desirable state than celibacy. It is, of course, an effort to consider the family and not the individual the political unit, and like all such efforts it reacts on the family through the depreciation of the individual. To class the wife and mother with irresponsibles and minors while allowing the unmarried woman to take her place in the political world as a duly accredited human being does not fail to belittle marriage and the family in the eyes of women and to accentuate the advantages of celibacy.

It is a third bill, Ferdinand Buisson's bill, that is engaging the more serious efforts and hopes of French suffragists. This bill is based on a far clearer recognition of the democratic principle of self-government and is far more just in its proposed application of that principle to women. M. Buisson has not been re-elected, but M. Etienne Flandin has the fortunes of the measure in hand. It is expected to come before the Chamber of Deputies before the year is out.

* * *

AS THE EDITORS SEE IT

UP TO THE DEMOCRATS

"There is far less excuse now than in any previous Congress for shoving woman suffrage into the closet and slamming the door on it. The Democrats acknowledge that but for the women voters their jobholders would now be facing the unhappy future of working for a living."—*Newark, N.J., Evening Star*.

CLOSET CREEDS THAT GET NOWHERE

"Has any devotee of the anti-suffrage creed, we wonder, ever given it a working test? Ever tried, by its guidance, for instance, to get good milk for her family, or secure clean alleys in her neighborhood in the summer months, or safe sanitary conditions in the workshop where her daughter's underclothes were made? All important things, as any home-maker must admit. The creed reads, 'We believe that women, according to their leisure, opportunity and experience, should take part increasingly in civic and municipal affairs, as they have always done in charitable, philanthropic and educational activities. And we believe that this can be done best by women without the ballot, as a nonpartisan body of disinterested workers.'

"No woman can take part 'increasingly' in any branch of civic work without coming, face up, to legislation, the need of it, the injustice of it or its outworn graces. Then what is she to do, according to the creed? There is but one course to pursue: cajole the lawmaker. And how? By her ages-long charm? Her smile? Her wrath and disgust? By promises? There is no dignity and no sense in any such statement. Carried to its logical conclusion, the first part of the creed, as quoted above, cannot 'best be done by women without the ballot.' The dignified thing to do is to say to any lawmaker or aspiring lawmaker, 'I ask for this legislation because I see that it is needed and the safety of the home and good of the family demand it. I ask it as a citizen responsible with you for the welfare of my city.'"—*Richmond, Va., Journal*.

* * *

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

A dividend of 3% on the preferred Capital Stock of this Company, has been declared payable March 1, to stockholders of record January 17, 1917.

HELEN POTTER, TREASURER

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

Beginning with the January number (1917), the organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (Carrie Chapman Catt, President), which heretofore has been issued under the name "Jus Suffragii", will be known as the *INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS*. It is published monthly in London. It contains all the up-to-date news concerning women's activities in many fields throughout the civilized world. No suffragist can afford to be without it. Its reports on women's war service are considered one of the most important and valuable contributions to the history of the woman movement. To the student of this movement they are indispensable. Price to American subscribers, ONE DOLLAR.

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